

## NEW YORK HERALD.

BROADWAY AND ANN STREET.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT,  
PROPRIETOR.All business or news letters and telegraphic  
despatches must be addressed NEW YORK  
HERALD.Letters and packages should be properly  
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Rejected communications will not be re-  
turned.

Volume XXXII..... No. 363

AMUSEMENTS THIS EVENING.

BANDMAN'S OPERA HOUSE AND MUSEUM, Broad-  
way and Third street.—WILLOW CORSE.FIFTH AVENUE THEATRE, Nos. 2 and 4 West, 24th  
street.—LA GRANGE.OLYMPIC THEATRE, Broadway.—A. MIDSUMMER  
NIGHT'S DREAM.WALLACK'S THEATRE, Broadway and 13th street.—  
OLIVER TWIST.

BROADWAY THEATRE, Broadway.—MARY STUART.

FRENCH THEATRE, Fourteenth street.—LE TITANI-  
QUE.BOWERY THEATRE, Bowery.—RIVER PRINCE.—MY  
SARAH TYLER.

NIBLO'S GARDEN, Broadway.—BLACK CROOK.

NEW YORK THEATRE, opposite New York Hotel.—  
UNDER THE GAULSTOCK.

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Fourteenth street.—MARTHA.

STEINWAY HALL.—CHARLES DICKENS' READINGS.

NEW YORK CIRCUS, Fourteenth street.—GYMNASTICS,  
EQUESTRIANISM, &c. Matinee at 2½.THEATRE COMIQUE, 514 Broadway.—WHITE, COTTON  
& SHARPLEY'S MONTEZUM.KELLY & LEON'S MINSTRELS, 739 Broadway.—SONGS,  
DANCES, EQUESTRIANISM, &c.SAN FRANCISCO MINSTRELS, 585 Broadway.—STY-  
RIAN ENTERTAINMENTS, SINGING, DANCING AND BURLIQUES.TONY PASTOR'S OPERA HOUSE, 201 Bowery.—COMIC  
VOCALISM, NEGRO MINSTRELS, &c.BUTLER'S AMERICAN THEATRE, 472 Broadway.—  
BALLET, FARCE, PASTORISME, &c.BUNYAN HALL, Broadway and Fifteenth street.—THE  
PIGMEES. Matinee at 2.HOOVER'S OPERA HOUSE, Brooklyn.—ETHIOPIAN  
MINSTRELS, DANCES AND BURLIQUES.NEW YORK MUSEUM OF ANATOMY, 615 Broadway.—  
SCIENCE AND ART.

New York, Tuesday, December 31, 1867.

## THE NEWS.

## EUROPE.

The news report by the Atlantic cable is dated yester-  
day evening, December 30.The London telegram says that the great Powers are  
moving towards a conference with Napoleon for the settle-  
ment of the Italian-Roman question, and that the ex-  
istence of the Cabinet crisis in Italy is the only cause of  
delay in perfecting the arrangements. A Paris Journal  
asserts, however, that the Emperor's conference plan has  
been abandoned. The Fenians in Cork, Ireland, plundered  
a gun shop of a large quantity of arms and ammunition.  
The French president of the Paris Exhibition has been  
named a Senator of France.Consols closed at 92½ a 92½ for money, in London.  
Five-twenties were at 72½ in London and 70½ a 70½ in  
Frankfort.The Liverpool cotton market closed firm, with mid-  
ling uplands at 7½ pence. Breadstuffs without marked  
change. Provisions slightly advanced.By the steamship Deutschland, at this port yesterday,  
we have a very interesting mail report in detail of our  
cable despatches to the 17th of December.

## THE CITY.

The Board of Councilmen met yesterday, and con-  
sidered the Aldermen in the adoption of an ordinance  
empowering the Mayor to grant licenses to tavern  
keepers, which is adopted for the purpose of testing the  
constitutionality of the Excise law. They also concurred  
in the adoption of resolutions directing the State and  
city authorities to protect national citizens abroad.  
The final meeting of the Board of Education for the  
year 1867 was held last evening at the hall of the Board  
and a large amount of business transacted. The finan-  
cial statement for the year ending to-day shows a balance  
in favor of the Board of \$36,410.The revenue officers made a raid on a distillery in  
Hudson avenue, Brooklyn, yesterday, and were opposed  
by a mob, who severely handled them, three of the  
officers being brutally beaten. Reinforcements arrived  
for the officers, however, and the still was destroyed.A delegation of liquor dealers met a number of  
Senators and Assemblymen at the Astor House yester-  
day, and jointly with them decided upon the draft  
of a bill to be submitted to the Legislature. It provides  
for the issue of liquor licenses by the Mayor of the city  
and the establishment under his supervision of a Bureau  
of Excise License.Judge Clarke, of the Supreme Court General Term, in  
the case of the Bank of the Commonwealth vs. Jasper  
Van Vack et al., in which the bank appeals from a deci-  
sion in a lower court, decided yesterday that gold and  
silver are no longer lawful money of the country but  
merchandise, and that promissory notes made  
payable in gold must be paid in gold or in currency of  
an equivalent value.The stock market was heavy yesterday. Government  
securities were firm. Gold closed at 133½ a 133½.  
Business in almost every department of trade in com-  
mercial circles was dull, but values were generally un-  
changed. Cotton was in good export demand and ad-  
vanced ½c. per lb. Coffee was dull and unchanged.  
On 'Change flour was quiet, but steady. Wheat remained  
dull and nominal, while corn was firmer for old and  
steady for new. Oats were steady. Pork was a trifle  
firmer. Beef was steady, and lard quiet and heavy.  
Freights were almost inactive. Naval stores were firmer,  
and petroleum, though quiet, was steady at former  
prices.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

In the Louisiana Convention yesterday several articles  
of the constitution were adopted. They prohibit slav-  
ery, declare the liberty of the press and freedom of  
speech and the right of the people to assemble and  
petition government.Nashville has been visited by a snow storm several  
inches deep, which has embargoed all the street cars.A heavy snow storm prevailed at Fort Monroe  
yesterday.Senator Morton, of Indiana, lectured in Washington  
yesterday on the issues of the hour. He criticized some-  
what severely the action of General Hancock in recon-  
structing the Fifth Military District.Another steamship from China is overdue at San  
Francisco.The sale of the Boston steamers Ontario and Erie to  
New York parties is reported.Cincinnati whiskey dealers profess to have information  
that the tax will be reduced to fifty cents.All parts of Virginia except the Shenandoah Valley  
are reported to be under a reign of terror owing to the  
frenzied intentions of the blacks. During the Christ-  
mas holidays troops were called for by a military  
officer in Halifax county, as there were indications  
of a disturbance. The Freedmen's Bureau and military  
headquarters profess entire ignorance of any such state  
of affairs.INTERNATIONAL LITERARY COURTESIES.—We  
give in another column a communication from  
Mr. L. Gaylord Clark, in answer to a statement  
quoted in our columns some time since, to the  
effect that a letter from this gentleman had  
received, on a certain occasion, a not very  
complimentary greeting from the elegant  
author of "Pelham." Mr. Clark gives satis-  
factory evidence that the story could not have  
been true, and thus consigns it to the other  
lumber of limbo. It was doubtless an  
imagination of a Bohemian correspondent for  
a country paper.Andrew Johnson and the Game for the  
Presidential Succession.When John Tyler, of blessed memory, at the  
close of his eventful but happy reign in the  
White House, went down with his "young wife  
and his old umbrella," his two boys and the  
family luggage, to the Washington landing,  
homeward bound, he found himself half an  
hour too late for the steamer. "Fallen from his  
high estate," reduced to the common level  
of Jones and Brown, ex-President Tyler stood  
on the dock. The captain could not wait for  
him, and so he was left behind. He had tried  
the game for the succession of an independent  
Tyler party; he had even tried (1844) a little  
independent National Tyler Convention at Bal-  
timore; but it was an amusing failure. It was  
absorbed by the regular democratic concern—  
"Polk, Dallas and the tariff of 1842"—and it  
died and made no sign. Yet, having come into  
the Presidency by accident, we may excuse  
Tyler for desiring to be elected in his own  
name and upon his own merits, instead of  
going down to history as the tail of another  
man's kite.So natural was this desire under the cir-  
cumstances that when Millard Fillmore became our  
second accidental President he, like Tyler, was  
seized with it, and was founded on the same  
sandbar. Fillmore, however, not only got up  
a third party, but actually (1856) went with it  
into the fight; and, though too weak to do any-  
thing better, he was still strong enough to  
defeat Fremont, and thus to postpone for four  
years the great Southern rebellion. Whether  
the South or the country was the gainer or  
loser by this operation the reader may judge  
for himself. Our present business is with  
Andrew Johnson, the third of our accidental  
Presidents, and his game for the Presidential  
succession.As matters now stand Mr. Johnson, in this  
game, has some remarkable and powerful ad-  
vantages over both Tyler and Fillmore. They  
had nothing but their offices and contracts, the  
spoils and plunder—and these to a small  
amount—with which to build up a party.  
Johnson, on the contrary, has not only an enor-  
mously increased volume of patronage in his  
hands, but from the demoralization of the party  
in power, and from the ravenous appetite of  
the party out of power, he can master both.  
With the inglorious collapse of the impeach-  
ment bubble he has already become the master  
of the radicals, and it is clear that he means to  
finish them with their scheme of Southern re-  
construction. His game is to keep the ten  
outside rebel States and their negro radical  
balance of power out of the Presidential fight.  
His scheme was to make these States, before  
breakfast, good and trusty Johnson States  
on a white basis; but the radicals of Congress  
spoiled his calculations. Casting him and his  
labors aside, they set up their own scheme to  
make those outside States good radical States  
on a negro basis; and now he has them on the  
hip. His recent reconstruction removals of  
Pope and Ord and Swayne, after finding that  
Congress is powerless to remedy the removals  
of Stanton, Sickles and Sheridan, distinctly go  
to show that Mr. Johnson intends to keep these  
outside States unreconstructed till after the  
Presidential election.What for? Simply to cut off their vote on a  
negro basis from the radical Presidential ticket.  
But what advantage will this be to Mr. John-  
son beyond the possible election of the demo-  
cratic candidate? Assuming that the candidate  
will be General Hancock, in deference to Mr.  
Johnson's wishes, what profit falls to Mr.  
Johnson? Not much. But suppose that General  
Hancock is only put forward as a stalking  
horse, and that Mr. Johnson walks behind him,  
looking out for the main chance, what then?  
"Old Buck," they say, in 1850 was satisfied in  
swamping Douglas at Charleston; Martin Van  
Buren, we know, got all that he wanted in  
defeating Cass in 1848; but is Mr. Johnson a  
man of that pattern? Does any one suppose  
that he has settled down into a mere cut-throat  
of coats and breeches, grinds, for the democratic  
party? No. Behind all these tricks of  
strategy stands Mr. Johnson as the candidate  
of Mr. Johnson. Nor is his case as blue  
as indigo. He has the whip hand over the  
radicals. He is lashing them into a state of in-  
describable confusion; but this is not all. In  
his nomination of General Hancock for the  
democracy he has disgusted the old copper-  
head leaders, though they pretend to throw up  
their hats for Hancock. Mr. Johnson is too  
old a bird to be caught by such chaff. He  
knows that this old copperhead enthusiasm for  
Hancock is all gammon, and that, with the idea  
that Pendleton or Seymour, or even Jerry  
Black or Bobby Walker, can be elected, the  
old copperheads will give the go-by to  
Hancock. Mr. Johnson, in disorganizing the  
Republicans, let us suppose, will establish this  
idea. Suppose, then, that in advance of the  
democratic convention he gets up a Johnson  
convention under Mr. Raymond, and that John-  
son is thereby nominated on the Johnson Phila-  
delphia platform, and suppose that every fed-  
eral officeholder is tried by this shibboleth,  
what will the democratic convention do? What  
can it do but second the motion of John  
Van Buren and Mr. Raymond in setting up  
Mr. Johnson?On the blessed constitution, the glorious  
principles of our fathers, the rights of the States  
and the people and the dangers of our be-  
loved country there is not a democratic ex-  
horter that can hold a candle to Mr. Johnson.  
But they who suppose that the blessed con-  
stitution or anything of that sort is the main idea  
of Mr. Johnson or any other politician, are  
firing too high. If we set down all the move-  
ments of the Republicans, of the Democrats, of  
Congress and of Mr. Johnson as moves on the  
Presidential chessboard, we have their game.  
If we assume that Mr. Johnson is playing his  
part for Johnson we shall be more than half  
right; and in taking it for granted that when  
it comes to the pinch the Democrats are as  
likely to use upon Johnson as upon any other  
man, we think that even General Hancock will  
not be wide of the mark. Mr. Johnson, who  
was thrown flat upon his back in 1866, has been  
lifted right side up, and stands firmly upon his  
pins at the close of 1867. He is at last, in  
reality, master of the situation, and Andrew  
Johnson is his man for 1868.The Park Fences—The Poor Ye Have  
Always With You.We have charity balls, at which the beaux  
and belles of the city enjoy themselves on the  
light fantastic toe all the more for the con-  
sciousness that they are dancing away some  
penniless wretch's hunger and economizing for  
poorer humanity the very cash they squander.  
We have charity concerts and charity fairs  
and charity theatricals and since charity theydresses itself in the garb of all our pleasures.  
Why should it neglect our ice carnivals? Why  
should we not have daily and nightly skating  
festivals with a charitable purpose, and thus  
force the very Frost King to contribute toward  
relieving the misery he causes. We are sure  
that the generous masses of our people would  
readily consent to relinquish for this purpose  
one of the sheets of water in the Park. There  
is ample room on the larger pond for all who  
go to skate, even on a holiday; and it is not in  
the nature of those who have the youth and  
spirits to make this vigorous sport a delight  
that they should begrudge the poor the use of  
the other. We are confident that Mr. Green  
would be supported by the sense of the whole  
community if he would at once take the neces-  
sary steps to devote one of the ponds to the  
realization of a charity fund. At any moderate  
charge of admission—say twenty-five cents—a  
pond would secure at least a thousand dollars  
a day. This sum would dribble unfelt through  
the loose purses of those who have plenty—  
would add a purer, pleasanter zest to their  
enjoyment, while the wretchedness it would  
soothe and soften can hardly be told. By such  
means more could be collected to assist the  
needy than is realized in a season by all our  
ordinary charitable enterprises together. Shall  
we not have a pond set apart for this good  
purpose, Mr. Green?The Work Before Congress and How It  
Will Not Be Done.Congress has a vast amount of work to do  
if it attends to the condition and wants of the  
country. There never was a time in our  
history when so much work of the highest im-  
portance lay before the national legislature.  
There is the restoration of the South (not the  
radical reconstruction of it, which is destruc-  
tion instead of restoration) to be brought about;  
there is the crushing weight of taxation to be  
removed from the shoulders of the people;  
there are financial reforms of the most sweep-  
ing character to be made in the Treasury and  
Revenue departments; a system of rigid  
economy is needed in every department of  
government; then, we want a sound, stable  
and uniform currency, provision for pay-  
ing off as much of the national debt as  
possible, a repeal or an amendment  
of the law establishing the national banks,  
with measures to revive the drooping industry  
and the commercial and shipping interests of  
the country.The war and the want of ability in Congress  
have brought us to a condition where broad,  
sweeping and speedy reforms are demanded  
in every direction. To-morrow we commence  
the new year, and Congress has been in session  
a month within a day or two, yet nothing has  
been done except the sensible resolution to  
prevent any further contraction of the cur-  
rency passed by the House of Representatives.  
As to the bill reported by the Finance Com-  
mittee of the Senate, for funding the debt and  
other purposes, it is a jumble of impracticable  
propositions which should be consigned back  
to the committee room and kept there as a  
memento of the committee's weakness. It is  
true Congress has dropped the humbug im-  
peachment farce, and the country may rejoice  
at this; but no thanks are due to that body  
for its failure to impeach the President. Mr.  
Johnson flouted his enemies by his sagacity,  
coolness and conservatism, and the people by  
an overwhelming vote have condemned Con-  
gress for its folly and vindictive spite.But what is Congress likely to do during the  
remainder of the session? Very little. It will  
be occupied chiefly in making the next Presi-  
dent, or in trying to make one. In about four  
months the nominating national conventions  
of the different parties will meet. Previous to  
that time there will be State conventions,  
caucuses and all sorts of gatherings in and out  
of Washington for the same object. Congress-  
men will be greatly occupied with all these  
movements, and President-making will be the  
chief theme of discussion on the floors of both  
houses. It has always been so in the sessions  
immediately preceding the conventions and  
Presidential elections, even in ordinary times,  
and it is much more likely to be so this year,  
when the issues will be great and the contest  
an exciting one. This Congress does not ap-  
pear to have the ability to legislate properly  
upon the important matters before it; but if it  
had the ability there would be a poor prospect  
of anything being done till the Presidential  
question is settled. We must wait patiently,  
therefore, till the politicians have had their  
conventions and the people have chosen a  
President. In the meantime our prospects are  
gloomy enough; for the atrocious Congres-  
sional negro supremacy policy in the South is  
fast destroying that part of the country and  
may bring on a war of races, while the whole  
North is suffering as well from the same radical  
rule. If we can bridge over the time till the  
Presidential question is settled without serious  
troubles and a fearful revulsion we may con-  
sider ourselves fortunate. There is no hope of  
any good from the present Congress. We must  
look to the people for salvation.

## The Disturbed Condition of Europe.

The annals of the year 1867, if not loud in the  
thunders of war, will at least reveal an  
amount of incertitude whose paralyzing effects  
have been felt in every branch of trade and  
commerce, and compared with which war  
would have been a positive relief. This state  
of uncertainty has been confined to no one  
nation or continent. It has been visible and  
its influence has been felt in each of the four  
quarters of the globe. Here in the United  
States we have had on our hands the recon-  
struction of the South; and the full admission  
of the late rebel States within the fold of  
the Union is involved in the difficulties and doubts  
of the future. To the north and to the west of  
us the New Dominion has been struggling out  
of chaos into something like order; but the  
struggle is not yet ended and order does not  
yet reign supreme. Of Mexico and the various  
States of South America it would be hard for  
any one to predict the immediate future.In Asia, while Russia has been extending the  
line of her conquests, and while Great Britain  
holds the empire of the Moguls firmly in her  
grip, China and Japan are experiencing sen-  
sations which are the natural result of a collision  
between the principles of barbarism and  
civilization. Asia, in fact, must yet be the  
scene of much bloodshed and civil strife  
before her peoples emancipate themselves  
from the barbaric and irresponsible rule under  
which for ages they have groined.How stands it with Europe? It is safe at least  
to answer that uncertainty is the order of the  
day. War has almost miraculously been staved  
off from month to month; but war clouds have  
been looming portentously in the politicalsky from January to December; nor have they  
ever been more alarming than now. The fiery  
Fenian element is convulsing Great Britain.  
Not to particularize the disorders which afflict  
the different States and nations, the Roman and  
the Eastern questions have at last assumed  
such proportions that if an amicable adjust-  
ment is not speedily effected they will set  
Europe ablaze from one end to the other. Rus-  
sian statesmen, as appears from a telegram of  
yesterday, are seriously discussing the ques-  
tion whether the time has not come when they  
ought to avenge themselves for the losses sus-  
tained in the Crimea. It would be strange,  
indeed, if such a state of things did not tell  
disastrously on trade and commerce every-  
where. Business men and capitalists are at  
their wits' end to know what to do. Millions  
upon millions of unemployed capital lie useless  
in the banks of Paris, of London and of Frank-  
fort. The result is that labor is scarce and the  
people starve.The one bright spot which appears on the  
horizon to relieve the general gloom is the  
prospect of a congress of all the Powers. A  
cable despatch which we print to-day intimates  
that the great Powers have asked the Emperor  
Napoleon to explain the basis of the confer-  
ence by which he proposes to negotiate a  
settlement of the affairs of Italy. It is further  
stated that the difficulty experienced by Gen-  
eral Menabrea, the Italian Prime Minister, in  
reconstructing his Cabinet is the principal  
cause of delay in completing the arrangements  
preliminary to the congress. How much of  
this is true we know not. It will be well,  
however, for trade and commerce, well for  
Europe and the world, if that can be done  
without war which otherwise war must soon  
attempt to accomplish. Meantime, it is difficult  
to resist the conviction that, meet the congress  
when it may, it will have to consider other  
questions than that of Rome. The peace of  
Europe cannot be secured until both the Holy  
See and the Sublime Porte are placed in differ-  
ent relations to the rest of the world.The New Management of the New York  
Democracy.President Johnson is turning out a brighter  
side every day. In fact, he is wiping off the  
incrustation from the true metal, so that we  
are beginning to be favored with a sight  
of the genuine article at last, neatly and  
clearly burnished. Having obtained complete  
mastery in the South by grappling with the  
issues there, and dismissing the military agents  
of Congressional law, Generals Pope and others,  
and attempting to control—by mystification  
and embarrassment—the democratic party of  
the North by the nomination of General  
Hancock for the Presidency, he throws an apple  
of discord into the midst of all the parties,  
and almost reduces them to chaos. The leaders  
of the democracy in this county and city are  
utterly baffled. There are two phases in the  
present condition of that party to be considered.  
There was a time when Dean Richmond con-  
trolled its destinies, and that, too, with the will  
and power of a despot. Carrying the railroads  
in his pockets and the steamboats on his  
back, he could walk into any caucus or con-  
vention and regulate the whole affair, cut and  
dry. But Dean Richmond has gone to receive  
the balance of the reward of his disinterested  
patriotism in another world which he did not  
obtain in this; and now we have a famous suc-  
cessor in the person of Vanderbilt, a kind of  
ambitious potentate, an admiral who rules  
both land and sea, and a railroad king who  
keeps the New York Central, the Hudson  
River, the Harlem, and the Lord only knows  
how many other roads, carefully stowed away  
in his vest pocket, and can despatch his dele-  
gates to all parts of the State.There is another phase which should not be  
forgotten. Vanderbilt has a son-in-  
law, whose name is Horace F. Clarke. He  
is a smart politician, and withal as ambi-  
tious as Marc Antony. He was a member of  
Congress, too, and therefore knows the ropes.  
He is Vanderbilt's right hand man; and the  
Admiral's left bower anchor is P. Bismarck  
Sweeney. Now, with such a valiant beachman  
as Clarke, and such a valuable and consen-  
suous appanage as Sweeney, and the two  
Schells to look after the scrip and bonds and  
so forth in Wall street and keep them up to a  
respectable figure, what cannot Vanderbilt do?  
Then there is another strong ally in  
August Belmont, who manages the democratic  
newspapers all over the country, in which, in  
fact, he owns, or at least governs, about half  
the interest. It is pretty well known that the  
democratic organ here belongs to him, and that  
he has so much control over the demo-  
cratic press all through the country that as he  
whistles they must dance. Thus the New York  
democracy is taken admirable care of by  
Andrew Johnson and Land Admiral Vander-  
bilt, and between them its course in the next  
Presidential election may be regarded as set-  
tled.

## Opening of Pike's Opera House.

On Monday next this magnificent temple of  
music will be thrown open to the public for the  
first time, and will resound with the voice of a  
truly great lyric artist. Pike's Opera House  
supplies a want long felt by all those who take  
an interest in the progress of art in this country,  
and in it opera may find its permanent home.  
It is a popular opera house in the true sense of  
the word, for there are no stockholders'  
reserved boxes or seats in it, and every place  
marked on the diagram is at the disposal of  
the public. The monopoly which stifled Italian  
opera at another establishment and made it  
distasteful to the public, who will not permit  
any infringement of their rights, does not exist  
in the new opera house. Its appearance is  
singularly attractive, and the auditorium, when  
lighted up, presents a brilliant coup d'œil,  
which, of course, will be increased to an un-  
limited extent when wealth and fashion crowd  
the boxes and seats. The entrances alone and  
the splendid dome which surmounts the audi-  
torium are features which render this house  
superior to any other of the kind in America.  
Nothing has been neglected to render every  
portion of the establishment both attractive  
and comfortable. The safety of the audience  
in case of danger has been consulted in the  
unusually large number of exit passages lead-  
ing from the auditorium. The inaugural season  
will be given by Max Strakosch's Italian opera  
company, comprising the following artists:—  
Madame Anna La Grange, Miss Phillips, Miss  
McCulloch, Brignoli, Massimiliani, Orlandini,  
Randolf, Salsi, Coletti and Sarti. The names  
of La Grange and Brignoli rank high in the  
realms of art, and in their late tour through the  
principal towns in the East and West these  
artists have created a genuine furore. Thechorus, orchestra and *mise en scène* promise to  
be capable accessories of such artists. The  
opening opera will be *Il Trovatore*. It is a  
cheering indication of public spirit and pro-  
gress that the metropolis of America has at  
length an opera house worthy of it, and that  
the cause of art is entrusted to the hands of  
the people and not monopolized by a few  
greedy speculators.

## Fenianism and British Reform.

The British ministry has had the sagacity to  
withdraw from a position it could only have  
taken in a panic impulse. It has reconsidered  
its purpose to declare England in such danger  
that the ordinary forces of law were unequal  
to the security of life and property, and has  
determined that it will not by proclamation  
give the present disorders the magnitude and  
importance of revolution. Had the govern-  
ment declared martial law it would have com-  
mitted a blunder as great as that of its enemies;  
indeed, it would have relieved them from the  
imputation of having blundered; for if a few  
outrages in the streets may compel power to  
stand as hastily on its defence as so many  
battles might have done; and as these outrages  
are cheaper than battles, they who manage  
them could argue from the admitted weakness  
of authority to the sufficiency and economy of  
the means they had taken to shake it, and  
justify their actions as national from their  
having produced a national effect. As it is,  
the government leaves these recent acts in the  
catalogue of common crimes—mere conspira-  
cies for arson and murder—and, supposing  
that these things are done by the Fenians,  
puts those men under the necessity of taking  
higher ground in their hostility before they can  
claim the honor of struggling in their country's  
cause. We are far from well satisfied that the  
recent explosions were arranged by the Irish,  
though public opinion in England and the  
whole voice of the press jumped to that con-  
clusion from the first. Outrages like these have  
been before this concocted in British govern-  
ment offices with the express view of fastening  
a stigma on a cause that it was feared might  
make its way with the people; and in the  
recent convictions of men in Ireland enough  
was seen of the character and conduct of the  
present officials to assure us that they are not  
above any course that promises to attain their  
end. If these things, however, are really part  
of the programme of the Fenian organization,  
they at least render it certain that that body  
will never again be heard of in any respectable  
way. If Fenianism has taken to these courses  
it has committed suicide, it has thrown up all  
title to be a decent power, lost all the moral  
capital it was making in the world as a great  
protest against misrule, and has abandoned the  
attitude that would have made it a tremen-  
dously effective adjunct to the voice of disaf-  
fection in other parts of Great Britain.In this latter attitude the Fenians, acting  
wisely, might have assisted in the accomplish-  
ment of great results. Government in Eng-  
land is now in reality just entering upon its  
struggle with the people. Popular disaffection  
has hardly taken the first steps in the career it  
is to make. Since the Reform bill of 1832 a  
spirit has been active among the people that  
did not exist before, and it was the force of that  
spirit that imperceptibly drove the nation on  
and secured the last Reform bill of qualified  
household suffrage. Will the popular demand  
stop there? They who fancy that it may know  
but little of the people. England's latest Re-  
form bill will simply plant discontent in the  
thoughts of every man who is below its terms.  
Thousands will be shut out by a shilling, and  
the satisfaction of those who are admitted to  
vote will be a mild political and social force  
by comparison with the stimulated ill-will and  
jealousy of those who, holding the same line  
in life, standing on the same level in intellect  
and otherwise, are excluded by a phrase in  
the law. Reformers themselves already see  
the tenacity of this, and are quiet; for they  
feel that they have started a power they can-  
not control. Here, then, would have been the  
sphere for the organized expression of the  
Irish; and, heard co-ordinately, the combined  
voices of Irish and English would have shaken  
the social fabric of Britain in its utmost atom.  
Nothing short of revolution would have re-  
sulted. Manhood suffrage would have come,  
and the law of entail, the State religion and  
other crumbling antiquities would have gone  
before this storm had been still. Such  
changes must inevitably come, but in the  
circumstances named they would have come  
sooner. But if the Fenians have given up  
their national character and taken to murder  
by mail and the blundering butchery of  
dropping fulminating masses in public places,  
they had better give that up also and take to  
the honest gallantry of foreign service, as their  
fathers did in other ages. Or, better still, let  
them follow the millions of their brothers who  
are hardly tilling the free acres of our own  
boundless domain, and who have kept up the  
purity of the Irish name in the pursuits of  
peace and have added splendor to the records  
of their new home in the glories of war.General Howard and Destitution in the  
South.Some time ago General Howard suggested  
that the "mission" of the Freedmen's Bureau  
had been almost fulfilled. He felt encouraged  
to hope that the necessity for such an extra-  
ordinary institution would soon cease. In this  
case, however, it appears that "the wish was  
father to the thought." Reconstruction has  
been a long delayed, floods and the army worm  
have been so destructive, the fall in the price  
of cotton has proved so ruinous, and actual  
famine has created such widespread distress,  
particularly in the alluvial counties of Missis-  
sippi, that General Howard must now feel  
compelled to postpone the abolition of the  
Freedmen's Bureau. He has already, in the  
exercise of the discretionary powers conferred  
upon him, had occasion to widen the original  
sphere of the Bureau's influence. Although not  
expressly authorized by law to make such a  
disposition of the Bureau funds, yet he ad-  
vanced a sum of eighty thousand dollars to  
certain South Carolina planters who had no  
money to begin operations for raising cotton  
last year. He took a lien on the crops for the  
repayment of this sum. It was fully repaid as  
soon as the planters had sold their crops. The  
practical advantages of this beneficent policy  
have induced General Howard, in view of  
Southern destitution, especially among the Mis-  
sissippi planters, who lost everything by the  
river inundations, to recommend a similarly  
liberal application of the surplus funds under  
his control, as head of the Freedmen's Bureau,  
in order to meet cases of distress in the South.  
He proposes the immediate establishment ofdepots of provisions at points convenient to  
the districts in which the greatest want prevails.  
The advice of General Gillem, that some such  
scheme for the immediate relief of sufferers in  
the South should be taken without delay, has  
been approved by both President Johnson and  
General Grant. The unexpended balance of  
over eight million dollars remaining in the ex-  
chequer of the Freedmen's Bureau is a sum too  
large safely to be left idle in these days of  
temptation. Corruption should have no chance  
to feed on it. General Howard's proposal to  
use it as a Southern relief fund will meet with  
national approbation.

## Multiplicity of National Conventions in 1868.

There is likely to be a full harvest of na-  
tional conventions during the year 1868, at the  
threshold of which we are now standing. Of  
course there will be the conventions of the two  
great political parties, the republican and the  
democratic. The former has already been  
called to meet in Chicago on the 20th of May  
next, and the Executive Committee of the latter  
met in Washington on the 22d of February to  
appoint the time and place for holding the  
National Convention. It is also proposed to  
hold a national convention of anti-war demo-  
crats, or those who suffered arbitrary impris-  
onment in the North during the war upon  
charges of disloyalty. The "Grand Army of  
the Republic" hold a national convention, or  
first annual meeting, in Philadelphia on the  
15th of January for political purposes. There  
will also be held a soldiers' and sailors' na-  
tional convention for a similar object. The  
Southern papers are proposing a conservative  
national convention, to be held in Louisville  
on the 22d of February. The eight hour, or  
working men, will enter the national political  
arena under a distinctive banner, unless in the  
meantime the organization be swallowed up  
by one or the other of the great political par-  
ties. They will also probably have their na-  
tional convention. It does not appear likely  
that the Cooper Institute party that nominated  
General Grant for President will hold a  
national convention, their labors being con-  
fined principally to the issuing of circulars  
urging business men all over the country to  
work for Grant. Furthermore, we will prob-  
ably have a woman's rights national conven-  
tion, and, no doubt, a negro supremacy national  
convention, composed of the debris of the old  
abolition party. It would not be surprising if  
we should likewise have during the summer a  
national convention of political clergymen at  
some cool watering place. This would be  
a particularly refreshing assemblage during the  
hot weather. At this convention, after dis-  
posing of the subject of the Presidency, the  
congregated divines might settle the vexed  
questions about the holy opera, song worship,  
hymnology, psalmody, religious theatricals  
and similar lively matters, without touching  
upon intricate and abstruse church dogmas.  
Besides the above there will be held during  
the year a perfect swarm of State conventions,  
both in the reconstructed and unreconstructed  
States, white and black; but the greatest and  
grandest of all these conventions will be the  
one held by the American people at the polls  
on the day of the Presidential election in  
November next, when radicalism in all its  
detested forms will be swept away, it is to be  
hoped, forever.Therefore we may expect the coming year  
to be one of the most interesting, so far as the  
discussion of political and social topics are  
concerned, that the country has witnessed since  
the organization of the government.